

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

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MEMORANDUM TO DISTRIBUTION LIST A

FROM: S/LPD - John Blacked

SUBJECT: Resource Paper--Groups of the Nicaraguan
Democratic Resistance: Who are They?

In response to requests from members of Congress, the press, and concerned citizens, the Department of State has prepared the enclosed resource paper on the Nicaraguan democratic opposition. It provides brief information on the principal opposition groups and their top leaders.

Enclosure:
As stated.



C-387

RESOURCE PAPER

GROUPS OF THE NICARAGUAN DEMOCRATIC RESISTANCE:

WHO ARE THEY?

APRIL 1985

The Department of State has prepared this resource paper on the Nicaraguan democratic opposition in response to requests from members of Congress, the press, and concerned citizens. Its purpose is to provide brief information on the principal opposition groups and their top leaders.

GROUPS OF THE NICARAGUAN DEMOCRATIC RESISTANCE:

WHO ARE THEY?

The Sandinista government of Nicaragua came to power in 1979, promising respect for pluralism and human rights, a non-aligned foreign policy, and a mixed economy. The communist leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) have consistently failed to honor these pledges made to the Organization of American States and the Nicaraguan people. They systematically pushed aside the democratic members of the broad-based coalition that overthrew Somoza. They have shipped arms, ammunition, and other supplies to the Salvadoran guerrillas and operated guerrilla bases for training Salvadorans, Hondurans, and others in guerrilla warfare, sabotage, and terrorism. The Sandinistas cooperate with the Soviet Union and Cuba in carrying out their expansionist policies in Central America. (See the joint Department of State/Department of Defense paper The Soviet-Cuban Connection in Central America and the Caribbean, March 1985.)

Between 1979 and 1981, the United States authorized \$113 million in economic assistance and sought friendly relations with the Nicaraguan government, at the same time through quiet diplomacy expressing concern about the Sandinistas' aggressive acts against Nicaragua's neighbors. It became clear to democratic Nicaraguan groups that the Sandinistas would not alter their behavior unless pressured from within and without.

As a result of Sandinista repression and growing ties to communist countries, opposition developed, made up in part of persons who had been Sandinista supporters, even some who had been members of the post-revolutionary government, such as Alfonso Robelo, Arturo Cruz, Alfredo Cesar, and Eden Pastora, the legendary "Commander Zero." The Sandinistas' opponents are indigenous Nicaraguans fighting for their cause. They are, as President Reagan said on February 11, "the people of Nicaragua who have been betrayed in the revolution that they themselves supported."

There is, however, an obvious congruence between United States objectives and those of many of the anti-Sandinistas. United States objectives are clear:

--the reduction of Nicaragua's greatly expanded military apparatus to restore military equilibrium among the Central American nations;

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--the removal of Soviet and Cuban military personnel and termination of their military and security involvement in Nicaragua;

--the termination of Nicaraguan support for subversion in neighboring countries; and

--the implementation of the Sandinistas' commitments to the OAS.

The Sandinistas are waging an intensive propaganda campaign to paint the opposition as henchmen of the former dictator Anastasio Somoza. But the facts show that nearly all of the opposition leaders opposed Somoza. This campaign, focused primarily on the Fuerza Democratica Nicaraguense (Nicaraguan Democratic Force, or FDN) which has a number of former National Guard officers in its membership, tries to equate former service in the National Guard with being a Somocista. But even if that questionable assumption were accepted, the number of former guardsmen in the FDN is relatively small. FDN records indicate that less than 2% of its members were guardsmen as compared to about 20% who are former Sandinistas.

Several groups of the armed and unarmed opposition met in San Jose, Costa Rica, and formed a coalition called the Nicaraguan Resistance. On March 2, 1985, they issued a document calling for a national dialogue with the Sandinistas under the sponsorship of the Nicaraguan Bishops' Conference. In addition to the dialogue, they called for:

--a cease-fire in place;

--lifting of the state of emergency;

--amnesty for political prisoners (approximately 3,500);

--granting the rights of habeus corpus and asylum;

--a guarantee of protection for participants in the dialogue.

The National Resistance offered to recognize Daniel Ortega as President pending a plebiscite. They called for the presence of guarantors from other Central American countries to oversee the proposed dialogue and invited other interested nations and groups to send observers. The opposition seeks only the right to participate in a free and open election and does not demand in advance, as do the Salvadoran leftist guerrillas, a place in the government.

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Within the recently formed Nicaraguan Resistance are the Fuerza Democratica Nicaraguense (Nicaraguan Democratic Force, or FDN), the Alianza Revolucionaria Democratica (Democratic Revolutionary Alliance, or ARDE), and MISURA (Miskito, Sumo, and Rama), as well as smaller or lesser known groups. MISURASATA (Sumo, Rama, and Sandinista Unity), the Frente Revolucionario Sandino (Sandino Revolutionary Front, or FRS), and others, although not signatories of the San Jose document, are also fighting to force the Sandinistas to return to the original goals of the anti-Somoza revolution.

The following descriptions of the principal opposition groups and their top leadership should help to counterbalance the misinformation being spread about them. Included are brief biographies of all the members of the FDN Directorate and the principal leaders of the other opposition groups.

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GROUPS OF THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION

The Nicaraguan ResistanceThe Nicaraguan Democratic Force, or Fuerza Democratica Nicaraguense (FDN)

The FDN, the largest of the armed opposition organizations, was founded in 1982. Although originally composed primarily of former guardsmen, as a focal point for armed resistance to the Sandinistas it quickly attracted many others who had become disaffected with the FSLN (Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional). The influx of members led to a transformation of the FDN into a broadly based organization drawn from all sectors of Nicaraguan society.

The FDN's policy-making Directorate, reorganized in 1983, is composed of six persons. Five are civilians who were long-time opponents of Somoza; the other member is a former National Guard colonel, Enrique Bermudez, who heads the military general staff. The Directorate is responsible for making and carrying out all FDN policy.

The FDN reports that in 1982 a number of former Somoza National Guardsmen with records of human rights violations were expelled. Since that time, three FDN military leaders who had committed gross human rights violations were tried, found guilty, and executed under the leadership of the Directorate. A written policy requiring respect for human rights and good conduct is stressed constantly during the training and operations of the FDN soldiers.

The executive committee of the FDN directorate responsible for military affairs is the Civil-Military Command (CMC). The CMC's three members are civilians Adolfo Calero and Indalecio Rodriguez, both Somoza opponents, and Colonel Enrique Bermudez. The FDN's Civil-Military Command controls all finances. Reporting to the CMC are the secretariat, finance officer, logistics center, communications center, strategic command, and the medical center.

As noted above, the military general staff of the FDN is headed by Enrique Bermudez. In addition, several other former National Guard officers serve in key staff positions. However, the FDN reports that its overall military leadership, including the general staff and regional and task force commanders, has a greater number of former Sandinistas than National Guardsmen. The composition of the FDN military leadership is as follows:

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Former Sandinistas	43%
Former National Guardsmen	32%
Campeños (small farmers)	19%
Other	6%

Of the 56 regional and task force commanders in the FDN responsible for day-to-day operations, the FDN reports that 27 were former Sandinistas; 13 were National Guardsmen, none above the rank of lieutenant; and 12 were farmers. The remainder include a medical doctor, an evangelical minister, a fourth-year university student, and a civilian radio technician. The overwhelming number of the reported 15,000 FDN troops are peasants, workers, shopkeepers, businessmen, and others with no previous ties to Somoza.

The Democratic Revolutionary Alliance, or Alianza Revolucionaria Democrática (ARDE)

The Costa Rica-based ARDE is a coalition of organizations created in 1982 by individuals who were active during the revolution, including many who were initially officials in the Sandinista government. From its beginning, its leaders sought to restore the original course of the revolution through political means. In the spring of 1983, after peaceful efforts had proved futile, ARDE began military operations in southern Nicaragua. There have been internal disagreements among various ARDE leaders. In 1984, Eden Pastora, leader of the military arm, was expelled by other members of the ARDE coalition. There continues to be a dispute over which faction can legitimately claim the ARDE name, with both sides doing so. Pastora has retained the loyalty of most ARDE troops and continues military operations in southern Nicaragua. The political head of ARDE, Alfonso Robelo, was a principal organizer of the Nicaraguan Resistance.

Current groups in the Robelo-led ARDE coalition are:

Nicaraguan Democratic Movement, or Movimiento Democrático Nicaraguense (MDN)

The MDN is a social-democratic party founded in 1978. It drew its support from lower and middle class Nicaraguans, including many peasants, and it played an active role in the revolution which overthrew Somoza. Its leader, Alfonso Robelo, was an original member of the ruling revolutionary junta. He resigned in protest over Sandinista efforts to create a communist state. Subjected to extraordinary harassment by the Sandinistas, Robelo went into exile in Costa Rica in 1982.

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Nicaraguan Democratic Unity/Nicaraguan Revolutionary Armed Force, or Unidad Democratica Nicaraguense/Fuerza Armada Revolucionaria Nicaraguense (UDN/FARN)

UDN/FARN is a political/military organization founded by veteran anti-Somoza fighter Fernando "El Negro" Chamorro. UDN/FARN was one of the original founders of ARDE, but pulled out in 1933 in a policy dispute. In the spring of 1934 those differences were overcome and UDN/FARN rejoined the coalition. Chamorro was a signer of the Nicaraguan Resistance document.

MISURA

MISURA is an armed group that evolved out of an Atlantic Coast Indian organization ALPROMISO, founded in 1973 with the help of Protestant churches in that region, and its successor group MISURASATA. Former supporters of the Sandinista revolution, Miskito Indians Wycliffe Diego and Steadman Fagoth, founded MISURA in 1933. Its military operations are carried out in northeastern Nicaragua.

Nicaraguan Democratic Solidarity, or Solidaridad de Trabajadores Democraticos Nicaraguense (STDN)

STDN was founded in 1933 by two Nicaraguan labor leaders who had been forced into exile as a result of Sandinista persecution of the independent labor movement in Nicaragua. The founders had long been opponents of Somoza; one of them, Zacarias Hernandez, was a signer of the Nicaraguan Resistance document.

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INDEPENDENT RESISTANCE ORGANIZATIONS

Sandino Revolutionary Front, or Frente Revolucionario Sandino (FRS)

The FRS was created in 1982 by disillusioned Sandinista militants, many of whom had fought on the southern front against Somoza in 1979. The FRS was a founding member of ARDE, but later its ties were severed. Its leader, Eden Pastora, has steadfastly refused to align himself or his organization with any former National Guardsmen. Most of ARDE's combat troops remain loyal to Pastora. In September 1984 the FRS entered into a new understanding with ARDE. However, Pastora has not signed the Nicaraguan Resistance document.

Miskito, Sumo, Rama, and Sandinista Unity, or MISURASATA

MISURASATA evolved out of the Atlantic Coast Indian organization ALPROMISO. Following the fall of Somoza, ALPROMISO was renamed MISURASATA. By the end of 1981, Sandinista persecution and the forced relocation of many Indian communities prompted the beginning of a large-scale exodus of Miskito Indians from Nicaragua, primarily to Honduras. The Nicaraguan government officially ordered MISURASATA disbanded, but members formed a fighting force to resist. It conducts military operations in southeastern and eastern Nicaragua. Divisions within the organization led to a split in 1982. Brooklyn Rivera heads the faction that retains the MISURASATA name. MISURASATA pulled out of ARDE in mid-1984 and was not a signer of the Nicaraguan Resistance document.

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BIOGRAPHIC SKETCHES

Arturo CRUZ Porras

Mr. Cruz was a long-time member of the Democratic Conservative Party. He is an economist who holds graduate and undergraduate degrees from Georgetown University.

He was twice jailed by Somoza, once for 11 months and later for 3 months. In 1977, Cruz was chosen by the Sandinistas to be one of "The Group of 12" prominent Nicaraguans who would serve as a bridge between the Sandinistas and other groups in the civil opposition to Somoza. Following the revolution, Mr. Cruz served as president of the Central Bank in 1979-80, as a member of the Sandinista junta from May 1980 to March 1981, and as Nicaragua's ambassador to the United States from June to December 1981. He resigned that post in protest over the growing Marxist-Leninist totalitarian tendencies of the Sandinistas.

Mr. Cruz was the presidential candidate of the unified opposition in the election in November 1984. He refused to register his candidacy in protest over the ruling Sandinista government's refusal to permit a fair electoral contest, and the harassment by Sandinista controlled mobs of Mr. Cruz and other opposition candidates.

Alfredo CESAR Aguirre

Mr. Cesar holds a B.S. degree in industrial relations from the University of Texas and an M.B.A. from Stanford University. After serving as general administrator of the Nicaraguan Sugar Estates, he joined the Sandinistas in 1973 in the struggle to overthrow Somoza. He reported that he was tortured while imprisoned during that time. After the Sandinista victory in 1979, Cesar became Executive Director of the International Reconstruction Fund. In 1980-81 he was Executive Director of the Banking Superior Council. In 1981-82 he was President of the Central Bank. After breaking with the Sandinistas and leaving Nicaragua, Cesar went into exile in Costa Rica and became an adviser to the Costa Rican government, specializing in external debt.

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THE DIRECTORATE OF THE FDN

Adolfo CALERO Portocarrero

A lifelong opponent of Somoza, Mr. Calero has been president of the National Directorate and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the FDN since December 1933.

Mr. Calero graduated from the University of Notre Dame in 1953, did graduate work in industrial management at the University of Syracuse, and holds a law degree from the University of Central America in Nicaragua.

In the late 1950s, Mr. Calero became manager of the Coca-Cola Company of Nicaragua. He served as director of the Chamber of Commerce and was a member of Nicaragua's development organizations, INDE and FUNDE. He was a co-founder of the Human Development Institute. In the early 1970s he was dean of the faculty of economics and business administration at the University of Central America.

Mr. Calero began his political career in the 1950s. He became an activist in the Conservative Party and in 1959 he helped organize managerial strikes in support of an insurrection headed by Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, editor of the opposition daily La Prensa.

In 1970 Mr. Calero, offered a seat as an alternate in Congress as part of a pact between Fernando Aguero, head of the Conservative Party, and Somoza, refused. Mr. Calero joined with other conservatives and founded the Authentic Conservative Party.

In 1973, Mr. Calero served as his party's representative in the Broad Opposition Front (FAO), and along with other FAO leaders was jailed for initiating a general strike that shook the Somoza regime.

After the fall of Somoza, Mr. Calero attempted to cooperate with the Sandinistas in rebuilding Nicaragua, but by the end of 1982, having become totally disillusioned, he went into exile.

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Enrique BERMUDEZ Varela

Mr. Bermudez is the military commander of the FDN armed forces. He served in the National Guard under Somoza, but was cleared of "war crimes" by a representative of the Sandinista military in December 1982. He has described himself as a professional soldier and, under Somoza, apolitical. He is a graduate of the Nicaraguan Military Academy and received training at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College and the U.S. Army School of the Americas. He also received military training in Brazil.

During the closing years of the Somoza regime when the most intense violence occurred, Bermudez served in Washington as defense attache.

Alfonso CALLEJAS Deshon

Mr. Callejas was trained as a civil engineer at the University of Santa Clara in California. After working for several years for the Standard Fruit Company, he founded his own business and eventually had interests in cattle, bananas, and cotton. He held various local and national offices in his capacity as an engineer and headed the National Office of Water Resources in the early 1960s. He served as Minister of Public Works and later was named Vice President of the republic under Somoza. He then became disenchanted with the Somoza regime, and in 1972 resigned his position in protest over Somoza's efforts to maintain himself in power. While still a member of Somoza's National Liberal Party (PLN), he led a group of dissidents who sought to restore genuine liberal values to the party. In 1973 he organized a grassroots PLN movement designed to force Somoza to resign. He spent the last months of the Somoza regime in exile in Honduras. Callejas returned to Nicaragua after the revolution only to have his properties confiscated by the Sandinistas. Again he went into exile and joined the FDN.

Indalecio RODRIGUEZ Alaniz

Dr. Rodriguez is a doctor of veterinary medicine who served as a professor and president of the University of Central America. The son of a prominent anti-Somoza figure, he became politically active at an early age. He participated in the anti-Somoza youth movement and became involved in the Independent Liberal Party (PLI). He was jailed twice in the 1950s for his anti-Somoza activities. After spending several years abroad, he returned to Nicaragua to accept a position at the University of Central America where he remained during the revolution. In 1981 he abandoned his university post to go into exile and take up the struggle against the Sandinistas.

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Lucia Cardenal Viuda de SALAZAR

Mrs. Cardenal Viuda de Salazar is the widow of a prominent Nicaraguan businessman, Jorge Salazar Arguello, who was murdered by the Sandinista security forces in November 1980. She was educated in Catholic schools in Nicaragua and the United States. During the revolution the Salazars collaborated with the Sandinistas and harbored Sandinista militants who were being sought by Somoza's forces. Her late husband, a top official of the private sector organization COSEP, played a key role in the civic opposition to Sandinista policies in 1980. A progressive leader whose popularity was rising, he was shot by Sandinista State Security police for allegedly participating in a conspiracy. After his murder Mrs. Salazar fled Nicaragua and joined the FDN.

Marco A. ZELEDON

Mr. Zeledon was a prominent businessman who served as president of the Nicaraguan Chamber of Industry, as a member of the board of governors of the Central American Institute of Food Marketing, and on the Financial Committee of FUNDE. As a businessman he promoted the constructive interaction in the decision-making process of the private sector, the government, labor unions, and community organizations. He became increasingly active in anti-Somoza activities during the 1970s and participated in the private sector initiative to persuade Somoza to implement policies which would result in a more equitable distribution of wealth. Following the revolution, Zeledon went into exile after his cereal business was confiscated by the Sandinistas.

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ARDE LEADERS

Alfonso ROBELO Callejas

Mr. Robelo, political coordinator of ARDE and head of the MDN, was trained as a chemical engineer. He served as director of the University of Central America from 1970 to 1972 and was president of the Nicaraguan Chamber of Commerce until 1975. He then headed the development institute INDE. Following the assassination of La Prensa editor Pedro Chamorro, Robelo founded the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN), a political party of businessmen, industrialists, and professionals opposed to the Somoza regime. After the revolution Robelo was one of the original five members of the junta. He resigned in 1980 over the communist tendencies in the FSLN-dominated government. He complained also about the ever-growing Cuban influence in the new government. Harassed by the FSLN after his resignation, he was finally forced into exile in 1982, at which time he and Eden Pastora founded ARDE.

Fernando "El Negro" CHAMORRO Rappaccioli

Mr. Chamorro, leader of UDN/FARN and commander of ARDE's military forces, has been a prominent anti-Somoza figure since the 1940s. He participated in numerous military actions against the dictator and was repeatedly jailed or exiled by Somoza. During the revolution he executed a spectacular rocket attack on Somoza's Managua bunker from the nearby Intercontinental Hotel. In 1979 he fought on the southern front with the Sandinistas. The increasingly communist nature of the regime, and the absence of an effort to implement the democratic goals of the revolution, drove Chamorro into exile in 1982 at which time he joined in the founding of ARDE. When Pastora was expelled as a result of policy disputes within that organization, Chamorro became the military leader.

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SOME OTHER OPPOSITION LEADERS

Eden PASTORA Gomez

Mr. Pastora, the legendary Commander Zero and leader of the FRS (Sandino Revolutionary Front), was the Sandinista's most popular hero and a senior official of their government until he broke with them in 1982 and took up arms against his former colleagues. Pastora fought for years against Somoza; in August 1973 he led the unit that captured the National Palace in Managua. That operation gained the release of 59 political prisoners, but its lasting significance was that it captured the imagination of the Nicaraguan people and enabled the Sandinistas to become the symbol of resistance to Somoza. After serving first as Vice Minister of Interior and then as Vice Minister of Defense, Pastora became disgruntled by the radical policies implemented by the Sandinistas, and was particularly distressed by the presence in Nicaragua of thousands of Cubans. In April 1982 he denounced the Sandinista regime and went into exile to found the FRS. That same year he was a co-founder of ARDE. In April 1983 he took up arms against the Sandinistas in southern Nicaragua. After being expelled from ARDE in the spring of 1984, he later reached an understanding in which he and Robelo agreed to consult with one another.

Donald CASTILLO

Mr. Castillo was a labor leader and held important posts in the Social Christian labor confederation, the Nicaraguan Workers Central (CTN). A long-time opponent of Somoza, he supported the FSLN during the revolution. He became the CTN delegate to the quasi-legislative Council of State following the victory in 1979. He served as coordinator of a civic opposition group which held discussions with the FSLN in an unsuccessful effort to resolve national problems. Castillo subsequently went into exile and became a co-founder of STDN. He broke with that group, however, over the unity issue and joined Pastora's FRS.

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Jose DAVILA Membreno

Mr. Davila studied economics at the National Autonomous University and went on to advanced studies in economics and development in West Germany. Active in student politics, he later became a leader of the Social Christian Party, one of the principal groups opposed to Somoza. Following the revolution, Davila was a delegate to the Council of State. In 1982 he went into exile and founded an anti-Sandinista group called ANUDE. Davila later left ANUDE and has joined Pastora's FRS.

Roberto FERREY

Mr. Ferrey, Secretary General of the FSDC (Christian Democratic Solidarity Front), studied law at the Autonomous University of Nicaragua and did graduate work at Southern Methodist University in Texas. He was a founder of the Youth Christian Democratic Front which was opposed to Somoza. In his law practice he specialized in labor cases and frequently represented unions affiliated with Christian-Democratic Latin American Workers Central (CLAT). Because of his involvement in strike actions, he was jailed several times by the Somoza regime. He became an important figure in the Social Christian Party. He went into exile in 1976 and from there continued to participate in the fight against Somoza. After the revolution he returned to Nicaragua and became a legal adviser to the Ministry of Justice. In July 1983 he resigned and went into exile in Costa Rica where he joined the FSDC.

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NICARAGUAN INDIAN LEADERS

Brooklyn RIVERA Bryan

Mr. Rivera is a Miskito Indian from the Nicaraguan Atlantic Coast. He initially supported the revolution against Somoza and was a founding member of MISURASATA when it was created under Sandinista auspices in 1979. In February 1981 Rivera and other Indian leaders were arrested by the Sandinistas and accused of "counter-revolutionary activities." He was released from jail after a short time and continued to protest Sandinista efforts to nationalize Indian lands and to relocate the Indian population. He resisted efforts to force the "cultural assimilation" of the various Indian groups by the Sandinistas. He was driven into exile and has carried on the fight against the Sandinistas. He is involved in an effort to negotiate an agreement with the Sandinista government over the future of Nicaragua's Indian population. He states he did not sign the Nicaraguan Resistance document because he did not wish to jeopardize that negotiating process.

Wycliffe DIEGO

Mr. Diego is a Miskito Indian leader from the Atlantic Coast town of Puerto Cabezas. He was a Moravian pastor and an active member of ALPROMISO. He was jailed by Somoza in 1971 for allegedly being a communist. When MISURASATA was formed in 1979, Diego served as a member of its executive board. Reacting to the Sandinista treatment of Nicaragua's indigenous population, Diego went into exile and helped found MISURA. He was wounded in a Sandinista-engineered 1982 assassination attempt.

Steadman FAGOTH Muller

Mr. Fagoth, a Miskito Indian leader, was a long-time opponent of Somoza. While a student at the National Autonomous University he was twice arrested for his political activities. Following the revolution he became a leader of MISURASATA and was that organization's first representative in the National Reconstruction Government's Council of State. Fagoth's increasingly outspoken criticism of the Sandinista treatment of his people led to his arrest in February 1981 for "counter-revolutionary activity." In May he was released on condition that he accept a long-term scholarship in a Soviet-bloc country. He fled to Honduras, however, where he joined other MISURASATA members in the fight against the Sandinistas. Fagoth, wounded in the same 1982 assassination attempt that injured Diego, later joined MISURA.

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A BRIEF LISTING OF SOME OF THE GROWING NUMBER
OF FORMER SUPPORTERS OF THE SANDINISTAS
NOW IN THE OPPOSITION RANKS

Jose CARDENAL--former Vice President of the Council of State.

Edgard MACIAS--anti-Somoza militant, head of the Popular Social Christian Party and former Vice Minister of Labor.

Pedro Joaquin CHAMORRO Jr.--son of the late La Prensa editor, and himself editor of that much censored opposition daily until his recent flight into exile in Costa Rica. He was a signer of the Nicaraguan Resistance document.

Jaime MONTEALEGRE--former Vice President of the Council of State.

Carlos CORONEL Kautz--former Minister of the Institute of Fisheries and a long-time Somoza opponent. Coronel signed the Nicaraguan Resistance document.

Miguel BOLANOS Hunter--former official of the Sandinista State Security Police.

Haraldo MONTEALEGRE--former Sandinista alternate governor of the World Bank.

Alvaro TABOADA--former Sandinista ambassador to Ecuador.

Francisco FIALLOS--former Sandinista ambassador to the United States.

Agustin ALFARO--former Sandinista consul general in New Orleans.